

Message Text

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FOR USEEC, FOR UNDER SEC. COOPER & DAS HORMATS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EFIN, UN

SUBJECT: THOUGHTS ON PREPARATIONS FOR NEXT MEETING OF THE
OVERVIEW COMMITTEE

REF: NAIROBI 7794

1. THIS CABLE TRANSMITS THE VIEWS OF EB AND IO ON HOW WE
SHOULD PREPARE FOR THE SEPTEMBER MEETING OF THE UNGA
COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE (COW).
 2. THE BASIC REASON FOR THE LESS THAN SATISFACTORY CON-
CLUSION OF THE MAY MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE
(COW) LAY IN THE AMBIGUITY IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE RESOLU-
TION ESTABLISHING THE COMMITTEE AND DIFFERENCES IN THE PER-
CEPTIONS OF THE G-77 AND THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES
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CONCERNING ITS PURPOSE AND FUNCTION. AT THE FEBRUARY
ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING IT APPEARED THAT THE LDCS HAD COME
A LONG WAY TOWARD ACCEPTING OUR VIEW THAT THE MAJOR PURPOSE
OF THE COMMITTEE SHOULD BE TO PROVIDE A UNIQUE FORUM FOR
ANALYTICAL DISCUSSION REVIEWING GLOBAL ECONOMIC ISSUES WITH
A PARTICULAR FOCUS ON FACTORS AFFECTING DEVELOPMENT IN LDCS,
RATHER THAN ANOTHER NEGOTIATING BODY. WHILE THERE WERE
EXCHANGES OF VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION AT THAT MEETING, THE
COMMITTEE DID NOT EXPLICITLY ACCEPT OUR VIEW NOR REJECT THE
G-77'S THAT IT MUST PRODUCE "CONCRETE RESULTS" ON SPECIFIC

ISSUES. THE LDCS WERE REPRESENTED AT THE MAY MEETING ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY BY THE NEW YORK LEADERSHIP OF THE G-77. GIVEN THE INTERNAL DYNAMICS AND INFLEXIBILITY OF THE G-77 AS A NEGOTIATING ENTITY, IT WAS PERHAPS INEVITABLE THAT THEY WOULD EMPLOY THEIR TRADITIONAL MODUS OPERANDI. CONTRIBUTING TO THIS WAS THE FACT THAT BETWEEN THE FEBRUARY AND MAY MEETINGS JAZAIRY, THE US, OR OTHERS DID NOT CONVINCE LDCS THAT THE STANDARD G-77 TACTICS WOULD BE HARMFUL TO THE COMMITTEE.

3. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE G-77'S APPROACH WILL CHANGE SUBSTANTIALLY. THEIR LEADERSHIP HAS A RIGID FRAMEWORK OF INSTRUCTIONS STEMMING FROM THE MANILA DECLARATION, THE LIMA DECLARATION, AND RESOLUTIONS FROM UNCTAD IV AND THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH UNGA SPECIAL SESSIONS. WHILE THE G-77 AND ESPECIALLY THE G-27 MEET REGULARLY, THEIR LEADERSHIP'S FLEXIBILITY IS CONSTRAINED BY THE NEED TO SEEK THE DISPARATE OBJECTIVES OF THEIR MEMBERSHIP. THUS, THEY CAN MAKE NO COMMITMENTS THEMSELVES AND ARE FORCED TO SEEK "COMMITMENT" FROM THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. MOREOVER THE G-77 LEADERS ARE CONVINCED IN LARGE MEASURE THAT PROGRESS ON NORTH/SOUTH ISSUES CAN BE MADE ONLY BY EXTRACTING CONCESSIONS FROM DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN AN ESSENTIALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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FRONTATIONAL MODE. OUR APPROACH AT THE OVERVIEW, ALTHOUGH CONSTRUCTIVE AND SINCERE, MAY ACTUALLY HAVE STRENGTHENED THIS VIEW ON THE PART OF SOME LDCS. OUR ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF ANALYTICAL DISCUSSIONS OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC ISSUES COULD BE SEEN AS MERE PLOYS TO AVOID THE "CONCRETE RESULTS" SOUGHT BY THE G-77. THIS VIEW MAY HAVE BEEN COMPOUNDED BY OUR PROPOSITION THAT IT WAS IN THE INTEREST OF THE LDCS TO HELP THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES MAINTAIN A GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM WHICH THE FORMER VIEW AS STRUCTURED AGAINST THEM AND THAT WE ARGUED THE MOST USEFUL THING WE COULD DO FOR THE LDCS IS WHAT WE ALREADY WANT TO DO TO BENEFIT OURSELVES--STIMULATE GROWTH IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

4. BASED ON THEIR EXPERIENCE, PARTICULARLY IN UNCTAD IV AND CIEC, THE G-77 WOULD NOT BE INACCURATE IN CONCLUDING THAT THEY CAN OBTAIN "CONCESSIONS" FROM DEVELOPED COUNTRIES BY CALLING MEETINGS ATTENDED BY HIGH-LEVEL DEVELOPED COUNTRY OFFICIALS WHO, UNDER PRESSURE TO AVOID THE FAILURE OF THE MEETINGS, UNDERTAKE COMMITMENTS SUCH AS THE SPECIAL ACTION PROGRAM, SUPPORT FOR A COMMON FUND, AND THE TDB DEBT DECISIONS. EVEN IF PROGRESS ON NORTH/SOUTH ISSUES CAN ALSO BE MADE IN OTHER WAYS, IT IS UNLIKELY THE G-77 WILL COMPLETELY DISCARD ITS TRADITIONAL CONFRONTATIONAL TACTICS OR OBJECTIVES.

5. WE SHOULD ADOPT A TWO-LEVEL APPROACH TO THE COW AND THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE IN GENERAL. ON THE MORE IMMEDIATE

LEVEL, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE G-77 AS IT IS AND SEEK TO COOPERATE WITH IT WHEN, AS SEEMS INEVITABLE, IT DEMANDS THAT EACH SESSION OF THE COMMITTEE PRODUCE A DOCUMENT. WE SHOULD ASSURE THAT SUCH A DOCUMENT IS A BALANCED REFLECTION OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITHOUT COMMITMENTS, TIME FRAMES, OR TARGETS. IN ESSENCE, OUR SHORT-RUN STRATEGY SHOULD BE DAMAGE LIMITING (BY WHICH STANDARD, INCIDENTALLY, WE DID NOT DO TOO BADLY AT THE MAY MEETING). WE MUST HAVE INFINITE PATIENCE, BUT THIS SHOULD
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NOT PREVENT US FROM SCORING POINTS OF OUR OWN. IN ANY EVENT, BETWEEN NOW AND THE MEETING IN SEPTEMBER, WE SHOULD REITERATE FORMALLY IN NEW YORK AND GENEVA, AS WELL AS DC AND LDC CAPITALS, THAT WE DO NOT EXPECT TO MAKE COMMITMENTS IN THE COW AND THAT G-77 EFFORTS TO HAVE US DO SO WILL RESULT IN THE COLLAPSE OF THE COMMITTEE. WE MUST ENLIST JAZAIRY, OTHER LDC LEADERS, AND OUR DC FRIENDS IN THIS EFFORT.

6. THE LESS IMMEDIATE, LONGER TERM LEVEL OF OUR APPROACH SHOULD BE TO USE THE COW AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO MOLD NEW PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICY PROCESS, PARTICULARLY IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES, AND NEW ATTITUDES TOWARD GLOBAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION. WE SHOULD TRY TO TURN THE COW GRADUALLY INTO THE GLOBAL FORUM WE ENVISIONED BUT HAVE NO IMMEDIATE CHANCE OF ACHIEVING. THIS WOULD BE AN EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS, BUT EVENTS IN THE RELATIVELY NEAR FUTURE (E.G. THE AGENDAS OF COW SESSIONS IN 1979, UNCTAD V, PREPARATIONS FOR THE 1980 SPECIAL SESSION, THE ELABORATION OF AN IDS FOR THE 1980S, AND ANY RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS AT THIS FALL'S UNGA) PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SETTING THE COURSE.

7. AT BOTH LEVELS, PROGRESS OF THE KIND WE ENVISION IS UNLIKELY TO RESULT UNLESS WE CIRCUMVENT THE G-77 LEADERSHIP, PARTICULARLY ITS NEW YORK BRANCH, AND ENLIST THE COOPERATION OF LEADERS IN CAPITALS OF KEY LDCS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THEM AS WELL AS ON THE OVERALL COURSE AND TONE OF NORTH/SOUTH RELATIONS. THEREFORE IN OUR INSTRUCTIONS TO RELEVANT EMBASSIES, WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO INDICATE QUITE CLEARLY THAT THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE UNLIKELY TO SEND POLICY-MAKING OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS TO THE SEPTEMBER MEETING UNLESS WE ARE CERTAIN THAT PRINCIPAL LDCS WILL
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ALSO DO SO.

8. IF WE ARE TO HAVE ANY HOPE OF CONVINCING THE G-77 TO REFRAIN FROM USING TRADITIONAL CONFRONTATIONAL TACTICS IN

THE COW (EVEN THOUGH THEY MAY CONTINUE TO EMPLOY THEM ELSEWHERE), WE WILL HAVE TO DEMONSTRATE TO THEM THAT OUR APPROACH TO THE COW WILL PRODUCE USEFUL RESULTS FOR THEM. ONE STEP WE COULD TAKE WOULD BE TO MAKE A SYSTEMATIC EFFORT TO PROVE THAT WHAT THE G-77 SAYS DURING COW DISCUSSIONS IS HEARD BY THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND AFFECTS THEIR POLICY DECISIONS. ONE EXAMPLE OF THIS--BUT A VERY IMPORTANT ONE-- WOULD BE FOR THE SUMMIT TO CONSIDER AND, IF POSSIBLE, ENDORSE SOME OF THE POSITIONS OR IDEAS PROPOSED BY LDC SPOKESMEN AT THE MAY MEETING.

9. IN THIS REGARD, THE SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE COULD ENDORSE SOME OF THE TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS ON AGENDA ITEMS 3 AND 4 (MONITORING OF AGREEMENTS AND PROVIDING IMPETUS FOR NEGOTIATIONS) REACHED AT THE MAY MEETING. AMONG THESE COULD BE:

-- THE NEED FOR SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE MTN BY THE END OF THE YEAR.

-- THE NEED FOR CONTINUED EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY AGREEMENTS AND REACH AGREEMENT ON A VIABLE COMMON FUND.

-- THE NEED TO SPEED UP WORK ON PRINCIPLES AND RULES CONCERNING RESTRICTIVE BUSINESS PRACTICES.

-- THE CALL FOR A NEW PLENIPOTENTIARY CONFERENCE ON A CONSTITUTION FOR UNIDO.

-- THE NEED TO FIND WAYS TO FINANCE THE TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS DECADE IN AFRICA.
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10. THE COMMUNIQUE MIGHT ALSO NOTE THAT THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE SUMMIT MEETING CONSIDERED AND DISCUSSED THE FOLLOWING PROPOSALS OFFERED BY LDCS AT THE MAY COW MEETING:

-- THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUED ADJUSTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS FOR SUSTAINED GLOBAL GROWTH.

-- THE DESIRABILITY OF TRANSFERRING RESOURCES ON A "CONTINUOUS, PREDICTABLE AND ASSURED" BASIS. IN THIS REGARD, WE COULD POINT TO OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE REPLENISHMENTS OF THE MDBS AND OUR PROPOSED BILATERAL ASSISTANCE INCREASES.

-- EFFORTS TO ENSURE ADEQUATE PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING IN DCS (AND LDCS) OF THE BENEFITS OF LDC DEVELOPMENT TO BOTH SIDES.

-- THE NEED FOR DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO RESIST

PROTECTIONIS;. IN THIS REGARD, WE COULD NOTE THAT LDCS,
ESPECIALLY THE MORE ADVANCED ONES, MUST ALSO DO SO.

-- MULTI-YEAR FINANCING FOR THE UNDP.

-- RECOGNITION THAT A BHN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY MAY,
IN FACT, BE CONSISTENT WITH LDC OBJECTIVES.

-- INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO DEVELOP ENERGY SOURCES
IN LDCS.

11. IN ADDITION, THE SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE COULD WELCOME THE
CREATION OF THE COW AND CALL UPON IT TO REALIZE ITS POTEN-
TIAL AS A FORUM FOR ANALYSIS AND EXCHANGES OF VIEWS ON
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GLOBAL ECONOMIC ISSUES. THE COMMUNIQUE COULD NOTE OUR
DISAPPOINTMENT WITH ASPECTS OF THE MAY MEETING AND URGE
LDCS TO SEND POLICY-LEVEL OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS TO THE
SEPTEMBER SESSION.

12. ONE DEVICE FOR UNDERSCORING THESE POINTS IN LDC
CAPITALS WHILE EMPHASIZING OUR INTEREST IN IMPROVING
NORTH/SOUTH COMMUNICATION WOULD BE TO MAKE A
SPECIAL EFFORT TO BRIEF KEY LDCS ON THE SUMMIT. WE DO
NOT WANT TO AGGRANDIZE ANY PARTICULAR ORGANIZATION--SUCH
AS THE G-77--IN THE PROCESS, AND WE WANT TO BE SURE WE
COMMUNICATE WITH POLICY MAKERS. THEREFORE, RATHER THAN
SENDING AN EMISSARY FROM THE SUMMIT TO BRIEF A GROUP OF
LDC REPRESENTATIVES AT THE UN OR ELSEWHERE, IT MIGHT BE
BEST FOR THE FRG AS HOST TO INSTRUCT ITS AMBASSADORS IN
LDC CAPITALS TO PROVIDE A FAIRLY DETAILED SUMMARY OF THE
SUMMIT DELIBERATIONS TO CHIEFS OF STATE OR FOREIGN MINIS-
TERS. SUBJECT TO FRG WISHES, WE AND THE OTHER GOVERNMENTS
CONCERNED COULD HELP PREPARE AND DELIVER SUCH A BRIEFING
TO EACH LDC IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE SUMMIT. CHRISTOPHER

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